1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
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PART III

'N-DEPEN OO-'L-MAASAE
MASAI PROVERBS AND SAYINGS

* 539 **No. 1.** Ainyô-pe ingarsiso anaa
What-and (*or* Why) you-are-rich like
en-naiyamishe ol-tito ?
the-who-has-married (intr.) the-son ?

Why do you behave like a woman whose son has just married ?

[591] [606] [A newly married man usually lives in his father's kraal for some months after his marriage, and a woman whose son has recently married may sit down and rest, as her daughter-in-law will do all the work.].

No. 2. Eata en-nêor.
He-has the-which-divides.

There is a Judge for him, and He will avenge me.

[A favourite saying when a person has been defeated in a fight.]

No. 3. Eata 'l-ojoñga 'n-giyaa.
They-have the-flies the-ears.)

Flies have ears.

Also: Eata en-gewárie 'n-giyaa.
It-has the-night the-ears.

The night has ears.

['Walls have ears.']

No. 4. Ebaïki en-gutuk nainosa 'sunya
It-reaches (*or* Perhaps) the-mouth which-ate the-fats
neinos i-ñgik, nebaïki
and-it-eats the-excrements, and-it-reaches (*or* and-perhaps)
en-nainosa 'ñgik neinos i-sunya.
the-which-ate the-excrements and-it-eats the-fats.

The mouth which ate fat shall eat excrement, and that which ate excrement shall eat fat.

Also: Ebaïki ol-ôtaara 'n-gituñgat neaku
It reaches (*or* Perhaps) the-who-killed the-cutters (*or* attackers *or* enemies) and-he-becomes

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Behold the people you are passing. The man is there, and the male, the woman and the female. 539*

[All people are not alike, and if you watch you find that some of the passers-by are good and others bad.]

No. 27. Itiñgide ansa en-gïa naiya
You-have-given-yourself-airs like the-illness which-takes
ol-murani ti-añg.
the-warrior in-kraal (of the married people).

[A warrior is supposed to be always in a perfect state of health, and if he is taken ill, he will hide himself in the woods or in a hut apart from the others. A disease which succeeds in overtaking him when on a visit to the married people[1], and making him the laughing-stock of all, may well be proud of itself!]

No. 28. I'yopo en-gine eng-oñgu.
Cover the-goat the-eye.

[When a goat is about to be strangled, it is thrown on its side, and the eye which is uppermost is covered with its ear, so that it shall not see what is happening. Similarly, if a raid is meditated on, secrecy must be observed beforehand.]

No. 29. Kindér ol-le-'modai, pe kindōkí
We-begin the-of-the-foolishness, and we-do-again
ol-le-'ñgēno.
the-of-the-wisdom.

We begin by being foolish and we become wise by experience.
['Experientia docet.']

No. 30. Kitägha neme te-'ng-orioñg.
You-have-pressed-on-me which-is-not on-the-back.

You are not like a child who when carried only presses on my back, you press on every part of my body.

[This saying is equivalent to, 'I am weary of your company.']

No. 31. Meata ol-atadúakine nemeata
He-has-not the-visibleness who-has-not
oidipa, ōtua ake ōtaduakine.
who-has-become-finished, who-died only to-whom-he-was-visible.

[Do not believe in the report of a person's death until it is well founded. Unless an eye-witness tells you the news, receive it with caution.]

[1] The warriors live in kraals apart from the married people (*vide* p. 292). [59]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
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En-aidura.

484 Enyor naleñg il-Maasae en-aidura, amu ten emany e-wēji [233] nemetii 'n-gujit, neidur aapwo ae-wēji netii 'n-gujit.

Ten eidur, neirot i-airkon [492] aapik il-onīto oo 'l-direta, nepik i-malasin atwa 'l-direta, nenap i-ñgorōyok il-benīa.

Naa, ten emany e-wēji nemetii 484 'n-gujit, nemeabetu 'ng-ajijik, 342 emany il-ñgobori. Ore 'l-ñgobori naa 'ng-ajijik oo-'l-onīto. Ore ten epwo e-wēji netii 'n-gujit kumok, neabetu 'ng-ajijik.

[462] Naa 'ñgorōyok naashetu. E'yau 'l-loom, nēunōki en-gop, neān too-'ng-opit, nepik il-kujit. Ore p' eidip, nemur too-'mōdiok oo-'n-gishu, o ol-ōkidoñgoi ōahulare 'mōdiok.

The process of moving.

The Masai are fond of moving, and if they happen to be staying in a place where the grazing is poor, they move to another spot.

When they move, they saddle their donkeys with skins and pack-saddles in which they put their gourds, and the women carry bags.

Should they stop in a place where the grass is not good, they do not build proper huts, but they live in the so-called il-ngobori, i. e. in huts made of skins. When they go to a good grazing ground, they build huts.

The women do the work of building. They procure poles, and put one end in holes, which they dig in the ground; they then bind the poles together with cord made from trees; after which they cover the framework with long grass. When they have finished this, they plaster the whole of the outside with cow-dung and mud.

'Manyat oo 'l-puli loo-'l-muran loo-'l-Maasae.

591 Memany il-muran oo-'l-Maasae ing-añgite, kake emany i-manyat eboitare nooñgotonye oo 'sanjan.

343 Ore ten epwo o-sero áinos 'n-giri, nemany il-puli eboitare 'singan lenye.

Masai warriors' kraals and slaughter-houses.

Masai warriors do not live in the kraals of the married people; they have their own kraals, where they dwell with their mothers and lovers.

When they go to the woods to eat meat, they live in the slaughter-houses[1] with their boy-servants.

[264] [1] Meat may not be eaten in the manyat, or warriors' kraals, and special places, called il-puli, are erected in the woods, to which the warriors retire when they slaughter cattle.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

KISONGO.	1. Kisongo	2. Sigirari	5. Salei or Saleh
	a. Kiteto	3. Laitokitok	6. Laitayok
	b. Moiba	4. Siria	
LUMBWA.	1. Nguruman	2. Serenget	3. Engaruka

The villages, *eng ang*, pl. *ing angite*, is the minimal territorial unit. Villages are distributed within the minor sections. JOHNSTON, [15] had already noted that "they generally range within certain districts". A village is the residence of one or more elders with his or their wives and cattle. A man after his marriage does not live in the same village as his father, unless the latter has become senile and unable to cater for himself.

The internal structure of the village is based on the gatesystem. This consists in a proper arrangement of the house on the sides of the village's gates. The village consists of a large yard enclosed by a thorny fence with gates opening at opposite sides. The house are built on the right and left sides of each gate, every gate with its houses belonging to a single elder. The usual arrangement is as follows: the first house on the gate's right is the dwelling of the owner's first wife; the first house on the left side is that of his second wife; the second house on the right side is that of his third wife; and the same alternating order is followed if marries more wives. The central yard is reserved for cattle. The elder's cattle are allotted to each of his wives according to her rank in the house. Cattle in possession of one side of the gate cannot be inherited by the other side. When inheritance takes place it is with great care that one tries to avoid cattle interchange. [16] The gate system, observes FOSBROOKE, [17] is an ideal, and "a symmetrically arranged gate is seldom found in practice". When people move in search of better grassland, the village is not destroyed, but simply evacuated. During the owner's absence the houses may be occupied by other temporary tenants. At the reverse migration the owner comes back to his old village if this is not irreparably decayed, and it is agreed by custom that any foreigner who might have found shelter in the house must vacate the place to the original owner.

Another type of Masai village should be mentioned here. It is

[15] JOHNSTON, *The Uganda Protectorate*, London 1904, p. 810.
[16] See especially MERKER, *l. c.*, pp. 27 s.
[17] FOSBROOKE, *l. c.*, p. 44.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

561 [539] "I say, thou art no longer *ol moran* (a circumcized, a warrier), but *ol morou* (an elder). Take care of thy cattle, goats and sheep, and have regard for them. Give up the occupations of the warriors thou art now an elder".

"After this feast", remarks MERKER, "it all depends on the warrior whether he chooses to take a greater or lesser part in raids. Usually he gets married at once and lives with his wife either in [591] his father's kraal or in the warriors' kraal (*manyatta*) until all his age-mates have married. Only then he is recognised as *el moruo*; 561 554 each one builds his own kraal and lays aside the clothes, decorations and the pigtail of the warriors".

[582] It is evident that the effect of the ceremony is rather limited. It allows an initiate to take a wife, but, even after that, the initiate is not yet "recognised" as an elder. It is as if he were given the elder's status in anticipation of the time when all his age-mates are married. At which time only the status of elder becomes for all purposes official.

561 A very detailed description of "the *ngeherr* of milk" is given by J. V. DAWSON, but the ceremony is mentioned also by other authorities. FOX,[155] states that "this ceremony is performed by each warrior individually",[156] and DAWSON tells us that it occurs at the village of the initiate's father and that four *piron*-elders take a special part in it.

[535] [392] [301] The ceremony is preceded by a dance. The candidate is clothed in women's clothes and the first two of the elders place women earrings (*surutya*) on him.[157]

[783] [685] A test follows, in which the candidate is expected to confess how many times he has "stolen milk", i. e. taken milk by himself or with people other than his age mates. Two heads of cattle are usually paid as a fine by a guilty candidate. He is then solemnly instructed by one of the elders, apparently the most senior, about "what he must and must not do after he has drunk and become an elder". He now drinks the milk, "very little however" at this

[155] FOX, *l. c.*, p. 453.

[156] He says also that "the ceremony usually takes place nowadays a year or two after the *E-unoto* owing to the Government policy of reducing the period of warriorhood as much as possible".

[157] These ear-rings, *surutya*, are also worn by elders. For this reason some of our authorities describe the earrings put on by candidates as the elder's ear-rings or decorations. But the whole attire of candidates is undoubtedly of a femine type.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

561 of these associations (the age-units) have long been married, the *ol oiboni* (the prophet) binds them more closely by giving a common name to both age-classes [164] each of which, as we have seen, had its own name. This takes place at *ol neher* feast. All the members of the associations come together at the *ol oiboni's* place and build a great kraal near his village. Everybody brings honey for making beer or an ox for meat. This last is then killed by suffocation at the *en gebata* feast. The feast consists in consuming all these things, and its climax is the proclamation by the *ol oiboni* that from now on all the assembled people shall belong to a single *ol adji* (age-class), and have a common class name ".

561 624 FOSBROOKE, [165] states that " a single official, *ol-loo-surutya*, is chosen as the head of the whole generation (age-class), thus symbolising the union of the two ages (age-units) which have up to now been independent, each with its own *launon* or ceremonial leader ".

561 It is after this feast that " those who are not yet married do so at the earliest opportunity. Those who are married, if their fathers [591] are still alive, move off from the paternal *boma* (village); for they are now in complete control of their cattle, and if they stayed with their fathers there would be constant bickering on animal husbandry matters. It is also this feast that " pigtails are cut off and are not allowed to grow again, the new elders may drink milk alone, eat meat that married women have seen, carry about short bladed spears (*embere sero*) in place of the long polished warriors' spears, in fact all the customs of warriorhood are abandoned ". [166] In other words through the *ngeherr* ceremony initiates reach a complete [554] social and economic independence and become full men or elders; they may beget children, own their own stock and build their own village or 'gate'.

There is no doubt that the value of the *Ngeherr* proper for the institution of the age-class is equal to that of *Embolosat*. This is stated by Fosbrooke. [167] He writes: " Just as the Kakonyuke ceremony of *Embolosat* starts off the age (class-period) for the whole tribe (read = the whole Masailand), it appears that the Kissongo *Ngeherr* closes it throughout Masailand ". This value of *Ngeherr*

[164] Read = age-units (my terminology).
[165] FOSBROOKE, *l. c.*, p. 30.
[166] FOSBROOKE, *l. c.*, p. 30.
[167] FOSBROOKE, *l. c.*, p. 30.

3: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12

Besides the power of a maternal uncle to stop a fight, he has also the right to take anything which belongs to his nephew. If the uncle desires anything that is the property of his nephew's father, the nephew must buy it from his father, who will at once give it up when he knows for whom it is required. This power of taking property is reciprocal, and in fact applies to all persons who address one another as *ol-apu*, *ol-le-'ng-apu*, etc. A nephew, for instance, can go to his maternal uncle's kraal, and if his uncle is absent, he can slaughter a goat or drink his uncle's milk, and nothing would be said. He cannot, however, drive off a cow without his uncle's sanction, but permission would not be refused. Other relatives have likewise some power of taking property. A boy or man can go to his father's or paternal uncle's kraal and take or demand a goat or milk, and in all probability nothing would be said, but if it were done repeatedly the father or uncle would express dissatisfaction or refuse altogether. A man may also go to his sister's husband or wife's brother (*ol-aputani*) and take anything, but an account is kept and the debt has to be returned. If a man is poor it is customary for him to live with one of his brothers-in-law (*ol-aputani*) and help to look after the stock. He is fed for his trouble, and as payment receives one out of every pair of twin goats born.

First cousins and second cousins may not marry, but there is no objection to third cousins marrying if the relationship is no nearer than *ol-le-'sötwa* (or *en-e-'sötwa*). Thus, a man's son's son's son may not marry the man's brother's son's son's daughter, nor may a man's son's son's son marry the sister's son's son's daughter, but there would be no objection to a man's son's son's son marrying the brother's daughter's daughter's daughter or the sister's daughter's daughter's daughter. Likewise though a man's son's son may not marry the man's maternal uncle's son's son's daughter, he may marry the maternal uncle's son's daughter's daughter. These unions are always contingent on the two parties not belonging to the same sub-clan.[1] The rules of consanguinity and affinity which regulate marriage also apply to the sexual intercourse of warriors with immature girls before marriage and to the rights of hospitality after marriage. No warrior may select as his

[1] The Masai are divided into five clans: *Il-Aiser*, *Il-Meñgana*, *Il-Mokesen*, *Il-Molelyan*, and *Il-Tarosero*. Each clan is again divided into sub-clans, *e.g.*, the *Il-Aiser* contain amongst others the following: *In-gidoñgi* and *Il-Parkeneti*. No man belonging to the *In-gidoñgi* sub-clan may take as wife the daughter of a man of the same sub-clan, but he may marry the daughter of the *Il-Parkeneti* or he may marry a daughter of the *Il-Meñgana*, *Il-Mokesen*, *Il-Molelyan*, or *Il-Tarosero* clans. Members of the various sub-clans are usually to be found in all the districts and sub-districts. Marriages are not affected by geographical considerations, and a man has the same lawful marital relations in all the sub-districts as he has in his own home sub-district.

In his recent book, *The Ethnology of the A-Kamba and other East African Tribes* (Cambridge, 1910), Hobley states (p. 121) that the restrictions governing marriage amongst the Masai are far from simple, and he gives a number of complicated instances. As a matter of fact the rules are quite simple if one remembers (i) that though the clans are not exogamous, the sub-clans into which the clans are divided are exogamous; and (ii) that no man may marry a nearer relation than a third cousin, and then only if the terms of address used are *ol-le-'sötwa* and *en-e-'sötwa*.

3: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12

poison is being made and when honey wine is being brewed. During the time that a man is making poison (eight days) he is treated almost as an outcast. He must leave his house at 4 a.m. and not return till 7 p.m., when he must rub clay on his body. He may not eat when the sun is above the horizon; he may only relieve nature far away from the kraal; and he must sleep alone. If he were to break any of these rules it is believed that the poison would be useless. When honey wine is to be brewed a man and a woman are selected for the purpose, neither of whom has had sexual intercourse for two days. A hut is set apart for them to live in until the honey wine is ready for drinking (six days), during which time they may not sleep together. As soon as the honey wine is ready they receive payment, and go to their respective homes. Were they to have sexual intercourse during the six days that the honey wine is brewing, it is believed that the wine would be undrinkable, and the bees that made the honey would fly away.

834 278 834 273

Mothers-in-law and their sons-in-law (*eng-aputani*) must avoid one another as much as possible, and if a son-in-law enters his mother-in-law's hut she must retire into the inner compartment and sit on the bed, whilst he remains in the outer compartment; they may then talk. Own brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law (*o-sindani le-anyit* and *e-sindani e-anyit*) must also avoid one another, though this rule does not apply to half-brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law (*o-sindani* and *e-sindani*). This rule is possibly due to the fact that when a man dies his own brother may not marry his widow, though there is no objection to his half-brother (paternal) or one of his paternal cousins taking her to wife. In fact, the only person who may marry a widow is one of the deceased husband's half-brothers or paternal cousins. It frequently happens, however, that widows never re-marry, but live with their children in the kraal of the eldest living brother of their late husband, who becomes the guardian of their children.

606 607 606 607 587 [591]

Divorce is almost unknown amongst the Masai, and it is only barren women who may be divorced. But if a woman is barren it is usual for her husband to give her some of his children by another wife to bring up. Daughters are usually selected; but if there are several sons the youngest and the youngest but two may be given to the stepmother. When a barren woman is a bad woman and is disliked by her husband and his other wives, she may be divorced, in which case her father or his heirs must refund the cattle paid for her, and she is at liberty to re-marry.

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9:Fosbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

After going through the ceremony, the new elders can drink milk alone, eat meat that married women have seen, carry about short bladed spears (*embere sero*) in place of the long polished warrior's spear; in fact all the customs of warriorhood are abandoned. 561

On return to their homes those who are not yet married do so at the earliest opportunity. Those who are married, if their fathers are still alive, move off from the paternal boma; for they are now in complete control of their cattle, and if they stayed with their fathers there would be constant bickering on animal husbandry matters. 591 578

From the foregoing it may be concluded that the average Masai male spends at least 10 years of his life as a moran. What are his economic duties and privileges during this period? In olden times his primary duty was to defend the country and, by raiding other tribes, to maintain and increase the cattle population. But European intervention has deprived him of his main occupation, and the only duties which the moran by custom seem bound to perform to-day are (a) drawing water from wells for his father's cattle or superintending their watering at flowing streams, (b) cutting the thorn tree branches which form the fence of the boma, and (c) escorting home night-bound cattle or searching for lost beasts. It was natural that few everyday tasks should be imposed on the standing army, but although the military duties are now in abeyance, the moran have retained the privilege of freedom from responsibility together with many other perquisites. These include access to the unmarried girls and the right to demand milk in any boma. In the matter of bullocks for slaughter in *ol pul*, the camp at which the moran may alone eat meat, the warriors seem to have a fairly free hand; if an elder withholds his consent, his moran son (with friends) will frequently help himself. It is not improbable that with the prohibition of raiding the moran exert these privileges in greater degree than they used to. If the elders are to be believed they spent a considerable portion of their time as warriors absent from home on raids, living in the bush on stolen cattle preparatory to stealing more. Consequently the time which they spent wandering round the bomas making their demands must have been considerably curtailed. 648 178

Another duty, or rather, restriction placed on the moran was abstinence from tobacco and beer. The former is largely breaking down, but fortunately the latter still holds to a considerable extent. This is not so with the Arusha, amongst whom drunken brawls between groups of moran are not infrequent. 273 276 184

The above largely refers to the unmarried moran; once they settle down, even before the ngeherr ceremony, their mode of life is practically indistinguishable from that of a newly made elder.

Elderhood is in itself marked by different stages, each of which has its own privileges and responsibilities. The members of the generation immediately above that of the moran are mostly concerned in family matters, establishing their own gates, marrying and performing ceremonies to ensure the fertility of their wives. The generation next above the most junior elders, as explained earlier in this chapter, is responsible for the

9:Fosbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

When blood-money is paid, it is less when the

payment is between clansmen. The logical extension of this principle is that when cattle are due from one member of the clan they may be taken from any of his clansmen. This is in fact the rule for payment of compensation amongst the Masai, though the offender and his near relatives naturally pay more. In the one case of blood money in which details were obtained, members of sub-clans other than that of the murderer contributed, and it is, therefore, safe to calculate that clan responsibility and cohesion applies to the whole clan in greater degree than it does to the sub-clans.

B. **Family matters — the boma system — the 'gates' — polygamy — marriage statistics — number of cattle to each gate — relations in law — travelling — adoption — economic.**

Briefly, the Masai live in groups of families, usually three, four or five together, in a village comprising a ring of huts, built immediately inside a circular fence, which thus forms an enclosure for the cattle. Such villages are usually built some two or three miles, frequently more, from the water which the cattle use, so that it is unusual to find more than two or three bomas in close proximity. Frequently a boma is a mile or more from its nearest neighbour. In the village each family possesses a separate gate, *engushome*, round which its members are grouped.

It is difficult to define a typical family or 'gate' unit. The ideal of a Masai elder is to possess half a dozen wives with many children, ranged on either side of his gate. As he marries he places the first on the right of the gate, and the second on the left; when a third wife comes in she builds her hut immediately to the right of the gate, and the fourth immediately to the left, the earlier wives moving round accordingly. Each wife on arrival is given a number of cattle, which are hers to hold in trust for her children. She is also given, for tending, some of the unallocated cattle which the elder holds in reserve for future marriages; such cattle are termed *engishu e boo*. Those living to the right and the left of the gate form two distinct groups, *indaloishin*, and for the purpose of inheritance, should a wife on the left die without male issue, her cattle will be inherited by the senior male on the left of the gate; they may in no circumstances be taken by an heir on the right so long as there is a son on the left to inherit.

When the sons are circumcised, they nominally take over the guardianship of their mother, and of the cattle allocated to her. In the old days they would move off with her to the manyatta, warriors' village, but this is less frequent now. As they approach elderhood, however, in polygamous families the sons at times claim their patrimony and move off with their mothers, to form a separate gate in some other boma. More frequently they show little desire for this responsibility, and spend the greater part of their period of warriorhood wandering round the countryside, or living in meat-camps in the bush (*ol pul*). Once they become elders it is exceptional for a son to continue to live with his father, except when the latter has reached senility.

This is the theory of the gate system, but in practice it varies very considerably from the ideal. Polygamy (see below) is limited by the

11: Leakey E-5 (no date) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

56 | place until the two senior groups move out together into the elders' class. The result of this arrangement is that no group which enters the warrior class as *muratagedienye* ever stays in the warrior class for as long as any *jangimebur* group.

56 62 59 361 634 | *Manyattas.*—During their time of service in the warrior class the members of each age-group live in special villages built away from the main married men's villages. These villages are territorial, in that all the warriors of a single age-group in a single area live in one such village. Warriors of different age-groups never live in a single *manyatta*, as each *manyatta* is essentially the headquarters of the members of a single age-group in the warrior class in a given area. *Manyattas* are moved about from place to place when fresh grazing is necessary.

62 56 | A *manyatta* consists of a number of huts each one of which is built, and lived in, by the mother (or another married woman relative) of one of the warriors of that *manyatta*. Normally each warrior has his own mother living in the *manyatta* and she is accompanied by her children, especially by some of the man's uninitiated sisters and half-sisters. The elder women are there to do the work of the *manyatta*, such as milking, fuel gathering, water drawing, etc., and in this they are assisted to a certain extent by the girls, but the latter are chiefly in the *manyattas* as companions and lovers for the warriors. No girl can live at a *manyatta* at all unless her brother or half-brother is a member of that *manyatta*, and each warrior living at a *manyatta* is expected to bring two or three of his sisters or half-sisters to live at the *manyatta*, and if possible some of these should be fairly grown up and others quite children who will grow up at the *manyatta*.

462 | 836 56 | *Sex Life.*—During the warrior stage no man may have sexual intercourse with any initiated girl or with married women, but on the other hand, there exists in the *manyattas* a system of sex life which is decidedly interesting. The warriors, whenever they feel like it (which, as my informant pointed out, is "very, very often"), invite one of the girls (sisters of the other men in the *Manyatta*) to sleep with them. This is done by a method and formula which corresponds in some ways to the *umbani* of the Kikuyu peoples, but has certain marked differences.

201 832 911 | A group of warriors at any time of the day will stand outside the village and call to any of the girls whom they see about, and when they come they say to them *tasiukiu*, and the girls then each select one of the men, and say "I choose so-and-so," not mentioning the man by his own name but as "the son of so-and-so." By so doing the girl binds herself to go and sleep with the man so chosen that night. It is a point of honour and etiquette that no girl so called upon to choose a man may refuse to do so unless she is (*a*) actually at a menstruation period at the time, or (*b*) has already promised herself to another man for that night, but she may make her choice from any of those men who were in the group that called to her.

561 346 the nine days the elders in charge of the ceremony go about looking out for two warriors from the group noted for their humility and honesty, and having selected them they keep their names very quiet, as the position for which they are being chosen is not at all sought after. In fact, as soon as the selection has been made, the relations of the two men chosen are heavily bribed in order that they shall allow them to be appointed.

561 624 [302] *Shaving Ceremony.*—On the tenth day of the ceremony the heads of all the warriors of the age-group are shaved, and during the shaving the elders come and point out the two warriors whom they have chosen, and publicly proclaim them as the heads of the group during its time in the senior warrior stage. These two men are called respectively *olotwet* and *olaiserugense*, and there are certain very strict regulations and restrictions attached to their position, the breaking of which would result in punishment by death; hence the unwillingness of the warriors to be chosen for these appointments, and the bribing of their relations. Unfortunately, no information about the duties of these two, or of the restrictions which they must observe under penalty of death, could be obtained from my informants. After 561 the shaving ceremony is over and these two have been appointed, the warriors go back to their normal life; but before doing so they first go all together for a few nights to a new village built for the purpose called *ngang'ogurtiki*, and from there [361] they scatter to their own districts. They may not, however, return to their old *manyattas*, which they vacated when they came to the *Eunoto* ceremony, but must build new *manyattas*.

Becoming Elders.—The length of time spent in the senior warrior class depends entirely upon whether a man belongs to an age-group called *junginaibor* or *murutugidienge* (*see* the Age-group system). Transfer from the senior warrior stage to the Elders' stage takes place as a group transfer, but one age-group cannot transfer alone, but always two groups, a *junginaibor* and a *murutugidienge*, must transfer together. No transfer, therefore, can take place until there are two age-groups in the warrior stage who have gone through the *Eunoto* ceremony. Once there are two such groups in the senior stage the actual time of transfer is dictated by whether or not there is a new age-group waiting in the novice stage ready to move up into the junior warrior stage, for as stated above (*see* the Age-group system), there may never be more than three age-groups in the warrior stage at one time. Equally no two warrior groups may move out into the Elders' stage until there is a new age-group in the novice stage, as otherwise it would mean leaving a single age-group alone in the warrior stage for too long, and this would be a serious thing when only the warrior groups are the fighting forces of the tribe. The actual transfer from the senior warrior stage to the Elders' stage takes place without any ceremonial, and the [591] men just leave their *manyattas* and go and live with their wives, with whom as yet they have never lived, although the wives may be mothers with several children (*see* Marriage).

584 The method of betrothing an unborn child is as follows:—A man or boy wishing to do so seeks a pregnant woman (provided, of course, that her husband is not of his own sub-clan), and goes to her and anoints her on the stomach either with fat or with red ochre mixed with castor oil. By so doing he pledges that if the child born is a girl he will eventually marry her. Should the child be a boy he is bound to it in friendship for life. In the event of the child being a girl he must, from birth onwards, present the child with small gifts from time to time, and as the girl grows up supply her with such necklaces or ornaments as she may demand from him. A man or boy wishing to betroth himself to an infant girl does so simply by giving the child a necklace, and from then on he must supply her with such ornaments as she may require. Of course, a man must first of all ascertain that the child —whether unborn or an infant—is not already betrothed. A man may cancel a betrothal if he wishes to do so (but he cannot break his pledge of friendship with a boy in the case of a boy being born to a woman whom he anointed when she was pregnant), and the father of a girl may cancel betrothal by refusing to drink any more of the suitor's beer. If a girl, as she grows up, decides that she does not wish to marry the man to whom she is betrothed, she can easily avoid doing so by arranging with one of her lovers to have intercourse with her just after menstruation, and thereby conceiving. She then has the option of marrying this lover should he be willing.

584 *Normal Marriage (as a First Wife).*—It is clear from the above description of 614 betrothal that it is unlikely that a girl will reach her time for initiation unbetrothed. Should she do so by any chance, her father would at once make every effort to find her a husband, probably from among the older men who already have several wives. Nor would the girl object in any way, for to be initiated and not be married directly afterwards would make her the laughing stock of all the neighbourhood. When a 585 girl is to be the first wife of a man, it usually means that her husband-to-be is still a member of a warrior group. This, of course, means that he cannot in the normal way live with his wife for some time. This fact, however, in no way interferes with the marriage ceremony and transaction, the presence of the husband not being considered in any way necessary.

[591] The respective fathers of the girl and of the man make all the arrangements and transactions when the girl is initiated (see below), and as soon as these have been concluded, and the girl has recovered from the operation and been through the shaving ceremony, she goes to the village of her husband's family, where she has already built herself a hut (or had it built for her by her friends).

As a married woman her main duty in life now is to bear children, just as it was her duty before initiation to avoid conception. If her husband is still in the warrior class and may, therefore, not have any sexual intercourse with her, this is no hindrance [591] to her in performing this duty, as she may now have intercourse with any married man of sub-class other than her own.

13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Masai FL12

are taken in another direction, which means that they drink only on alternate days, but at the same time graze over a larger area than if they went to water every day, thus helping to conserve the grazing. There are two types of kraal. The married men with their wives and children live in one type, and the warriors with their mothers, sisters, and girl lovers in another type. The main structural difference between the two types seems to be that the warriors' kraal has no fence, while the elders' kraal is surrounded by a thorn fence. The elders' kraal varies in size: it may contain from seven to several hundred huts, though very large examples (such as were seen by Tolski and von Höhnel) are probably uncommon; the average is probably about 20 to 50. The warriors' kraal may contain between 50 and 100. In the elders' kraal the huts are built round the inside of the fence, which is also the enclosure in which the livestock are housed at night. The number of gates in the fence depends upon the number and size of the families which live in it. Each family has exclusive rights over at least one gate, and a large family with many cattle has more than one. The kraal, *enk-aji*, thus approximates to a village, for several families live in it, and the gate, *ilokeeni*, has come to typify the family, the word being used with the article (*en-ilokeeni*) as a synonym for *el-meyeti*, "the family." Where a man sets up his home in a kraal, he puts his first wife in a hut on the right of his gate as one goes in, and the second wife on the left; the third, if he has one, goes on the right, and the fourth on the left, and so on, the huts being so arranged that each succeeding wife lives immediately to the right or left of her gate. The people on each side of the gate form two distinct groups, *en-ilokeeku*, the effect of which is felt most in matters of inheritance. (See below, p. 108.) The warriors' kraal or *e-manyata* is inhabited by all the members of one age-set in one district, who constitute a company, *olit*, and the kraals are built in strategic positions. With the men live their mothers, and some young sisters who help their mothers, and if old enough become lovers of warriors. The mother, her warrior son, and younger children share a hut, all sleeping on separate beds; when the warrior wants to sleep with his lover he goes to another hut. The mother's husband may visit her at any time, and when he comes her hut must be given up to the pair. The inhabitants of a *manyata* vary considerably in number, ranging from 30 to several hundred.

Livestock

Cattle

Cattle, *en-kiko*, are the object on which the lives of the Masai are centred, and on which their whole existence depends. Their importance is both material and spiritual, and people who perform any kind of work other than tending cattle are despised by the Masai, whose attitude towards cattle is similar to that of the Nandi. The Masai believe that in the beginning God gave them all the cattle in the world, and therefore nobody else has a right to possess any. Cattle provide the Masai warrior with his food in the form of milk, blood, and meat, and they give him spiritual and mental satisfaction through their existence, though it would seem that there is less outward and ritual expression of the love of cattle than among some other East African tribes who combine pastoralism with agriculture. This, however, does not by any means indicate that the Masai are an agricultural people who have wholly given up agriculture and taken to pastoralism. Since the Masai, unlike the Nandi, kill large numbers of their cattle for eating, it was essential in the past for them to maintain the size of their herds by continual raiding, for the natural reproduction rate would not have been enough. On account of its high ritual value, milk may not be drunk on the same day that meat is eaten, nor may it be boiled; but it may be drunk mixed with blood. Grass also has a high ritual value, being the food of cattle, and is used as a sign of peace. In 1930 the average size of an elder's herd was officially estimated at about 75 head of cattle, 80 sheep and goats, and 10 donkeys; this was based on the estimate of 320,000 as the total number of cattle belonging to the Kenya Masai. In Tanganyika, it was found that the average number

595 /27 cont./
[736] see in their position as secondary wife lasting or temporary maintenance. Each wife has her own hut, in which she lives with one or several small children and manages an independent household. The woman married first is the principal wife (en altero eng an) (1)

1. = the first in the kraal.

and remains such until death; then the woman married next after
[422] her steps into this position. The principal wife is supported the best, in that the husband surrenders to her a large part of his cattle for the usufruct and treats her with distinction before the other wives by means of gifts of ornaments and clothing, as well as by better service. /28/ Her eldest son has prerogatives in the right of succession. The principal wife exercises supervision over the other wives and keeps them at the work when they neglect it.

422 The domestic community does not have any common property.
As property there comes into consideration first cattle, goats,
[554] sheep, and donkeys. The size of the herd is the gauge for the social position of its owner, the father of the family. The cattle
[428] handed over by him to each of his wives for care and usufruct remain his own, and only when the wife has a son about ten or twelve years old do they pass, with his consent, into the latter's possession, and sometimes into his ownership. /Ill. 9 appears here./ A presupposition for the latter, however, is that the boy
• [591] is not needed in the tending of the paternal herds. For as soon as he receives the livestock, he must leave his father's kraal, along with his mother, in order to lay out a small new kraal for himself at a distance of several kilometers. This is supposed to prevent the two herds from coming together, an opportunity which otherwise the son would often enough take advantage of
422 to steal from the father. Huts and household implements, both
423 only of slight durability and little value, theoretically also belong to the father of the family, but in practice to those of his
[462] wives who use these things. The woman builds the hut, whereby the children or other women help her. What is not used in

000

/30 cont./

592 422 [434] The earnings of the sons who are growing up to become warriors consist of captured livestock and in the main passes into the father's herd. Actual separate goods for the individual members of the family are only clothing and ornaments, for the sons also their weapons, and further for boys the livestock given to them by the father, for youths and warriors the share of the captured cattle which they keep for themselves.

592 593 The family head is the father of the family. If an older man of his family also lives with him or in the same or a closely neighboring kraal, the two share in the office of the head in such a manner that in all decisions people listen to and heed the counsel of the elder one. Legally the head can be deposed by his brothers for mismanagement and incompetence, but this seems to take place only very exceptionally. The head makes the decisions in all family matters. A right to kill and penalize the members does not belong to the father of the family: just as he is not responsible for their debts and misdeeds, neither may he sell or pledge them. The [731] [cc7] fact that during the famine caused by two cattle epidemics that followed each other in a short time around the year 1890 children and women were given into slavery by their relatives does not prove anything to the contrary. When the corpses of many thousands of the starved lay in the steppes and there was no food of any kind for the survivors, no escape remained for them other than to give themselves or their relatives as serfs to such people as could feed them.

593 591 613 Individual members may detach themselves on account of bad treatment. One who detaches himself flees to another of his lineage or to the one from which his mother stems and purchases his admission with a few cattle that he has stolen from his father's herd and taken along. If he found acceptance in the latter, he must return to his own as soon as he becomes a father.

If a girl is expelled, she may freely choose her future abode, irrespective of tribe or lineage. Wherever she finds admittance /31/ she usually remains permanently, in that she marries a member of this lineage. That is, the men and girls taken in remain nonmembers of the lineage, despite their admission, so that they can enter into a legal marriage with members of the lineage concerned.

/44 cont./

584 A betrothal in earliest childhood is not infrequent among the Masai, though also not common by far. In such cases the father of the boy, several months after the birth of a girl, asks for her [572] for his son. Such a betrothal is in no way binding; rather it seems to have only the value and purpose of strengthening a friendship between the two fathers and assuring each other of mutual aid in case of impoverishment. It probably need scarcely be mentioned that in connection with a betrothal in early childhood it is only a matter of the betrothal of the boy to his later first, that is, principal, wife. Usually the betrothal to the later principal wife is not entered into until the boy is 20 or 22 and the girl eight to ten years old. For the former, his father makes the proposal to the mother of the girl, after the bridegroom himself has made sure of the girl's consent. As soon as the mother has then obtained the consent of her husband, she anoints the head of the bride with butter or beef fat, as a sign that the betrothal has been accepted and the girl is now betrothed. As such she is called ateséra. During the period of betrothal the couple do not come together; the bridegroom avoids the kraal in which his bride lives, but, if he should enter it, the girl hides from him. Thus the two live completely separated from each other, and, to be sure, in two different warrior kraals. The bridegroom, first as young warrior [591] (ol barnóti, el barnót), then as actual warrior (ol morĭáni, el móran), lives with his companions and a corresponding number of young girls in one kraal, the bride, on the other hand, with other 584 young girls and warriors in another, distant one. If the girl be- 848 comes pregnant during this time, it is regarded as a disgrace and usually leads to dissolving the betrothal. If the latter, by way of exception, is not the case, the betrothed ones marry as soon as possible. Otherwise the girl awaits her confinement in the hut of an old woman from among her relatives, and after the nursing period is over she goes to another, distant warrior kraal, in the 582 hope of finding a husband there. Only when the warrior is tired of the military life, when his physical strength falls behind that of the majority of his companions, does he think of getting married, in order not long afterwards to exchange the military life

/48 cont./
585 her own. Where a jus primae noctis is customary -- frequent, but not general -- it belongs to one or two old comrades-in-arms of the young husband. One who does not grant the jus primae noctis when it is claimed is insultingly called ol alomöni or ol ömischo (formed from a-lōm, that is, refuse). He refuses others what they have a right to and must expect them to steal a few head of cattle from him in the next few days without his being entitled to raise a complaint about it. One who does not want to go along with this old custom, which is said to happen, has the wedding take place without any festivity, in order to avoid it. The bridegroom simply hands over the bride price, whereupon the bride, without any ceremony, follows
• [591] him into his already completed hut. This dwelling lies either in the kraal of his father or in the warrior kraal occupied by the young husband up to then and remains there until all his age mates are married; only then do the married couple build their own kraal.

/49/ After the married couple have moved into their home, the wife may not leave it for the next two days. It is customary for the husband to present her with three cows and a bull during these days, and on the third day she accompanies this livestock to the pasture, but does not stay there. During the next three days the wife does no work; not until the fourth day does she start it, and to be sure, with the milk-
[822] ing of a plain black cow. According to the Masai explanation, the plain black is the symbol for quiet seriousness, whereas bright colors signify gaiety and lightheartedness. The woman is supposed to perform her duties with seriousness and not neglect them, lightheartedly rambling about, and make her husband angry by idle gossip.

768 If the marriage is dissolved by the husband's death, the widow
587 may, if she is willing, become the property of his eldest brother or half brother; she may live with the former, whereas the latter may marry her legally after the expiration of three or four months. Upon
586 the death of the wife, the husband pays no compensation. A divorce may be brought about if the man drives out the woman or if the woman runs away from the man and refuses to return. In the first instance, the divorce is preceded by a family consultation in which the head of the family pronounces the divorce. The woman must

881 /63 cont./
[626] trample underfoot. The one now scorned had also wanted /64/ to
[152] regale guests with it on that day, but no one came to him whose son
[535] showed himself to be a tóróno. While the old people, as long as
[533] there is something to eat and drink, are only interested in that, the warriors, already early in the afternoon, start to dance and sing with the young girls and amuse themselves in this way into the night. Not until about ten o'clock do they go back to their kraal, to which the girls presently follow them, after they have begged for a little more milk, which they take along to their lovers. /Ill. 18 appears here./

[758] The circumcised boys, soon after the completed operation, went into the huts of their mothers and stayed there for seven days, until a superficial healing of the wound has taken place. In order to hasten this, they are particularly well cared for and are given only milk,
[411] blood, and meat. During the following period, until complete
[223] healing, they roam in small bands with bow and arrow -- they do not use the ordinary bows, but ones only about half as long, made only for this occasion: the arrows used with them have a wax ball at the tip -- through steppe /65/ and forest, in order to shoot small birds, the skins of which they string by the beaks on a cord, which they place garland-like around forehead and occiput. Between the bird
[301] skins the es sibolio (sing. os siboli) -- as the newly circumcised ones
[302] are called during their recuperation -- stick an ostrich feather on each side of their heads and paint their faces with white clay (en doroto). On the first day they go out, they slaughter a white goat-
[262] buck on the steppe. After they have roasted and eaten its meat, they throw the gnawed bones into the fire. This meal is called ol gĭne l ol benek (ol gĭne = the goat buck, ol benek means the tree with whose branches they make the fire). Every evening after their excursions they return to the kraal and to the huts of their mothers.

881
• 591 As soon as the young girl, who until then has lived in the warrior kraal in the most unrestrained freedom, concludes from certain

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 86 1

881 /65 cont./
• 591 indications that she is about to become a woman, she returns to her

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C. G. Schillings phot.

Ill. 19. Young Masai girls.

881 mother's hut. If several girls of the kraal are in the same situation,
[591] the mothers agree /66/ on a definite day (1)

[613] 1. The circumcision of the girls belonging to the El kiborón always takes place on the 24th day of the Masai month.

for which they then secure an old woman experienced in circumcision. Otherwise they wait a few more weeks; perhaps a girl who is ready will still be found, since one need not necessarily wait for the aforementioned indications, or, if by chance a circumcision of the boys is about to take

/82 cont./

714 701 531 561 black, the youths then paint their shields. The red color may appear in the ornamental band only with the carrying of the large red emblem. They carry the black emblem and the ornamental band until they have become the equals of the warriors and are able, by their ability, to obtain the red emblem by obstinacy or force, for the warriors, of their own accord, will not let a younger age class carry those emblems. Therefore, when the youths feel strong enough, they complete their shield escutcheon in the aforesaid way and then carry it /83/ ostentatiously for show. The warriors see it, become angry, and scold. The el barnot, for whom the warriors have until then been persons of respect, answer snappishly and impudently and scoff that the warriors have now become old and weak and neither need nor deserve the red emblem any longer. No one likes to be reminded of his shortcomings, and a Masai least of all tolerates the reproach -- for that is what it is for the one still in the warrior association -- of incompetence in war, especially if it is hurled at him in street-urchin fashion out of the taunting mouth of a younger person. At the same time the youths build a circular barricade of branches and move in, possibly even before it is filled with huts -- a further provocation of the warriors, for with that the el barnot declare that they too now have a right to their own warrior kraal and are no longer to be regarded as recruits, but as full-fledged soldiers. The consequence of this is that during one of the following nights the warriors attack the growing kraal in order to make the point clear to the el barnot with force. If the latter are defeated, nothing remains for them for the time being but to scratch the red emblem from their shields again with all haste. They give vent to their anger over their defeat by scolding and by one or two small raids against Negro tribes. Sometimes the warriors then acknowledge them as equals, especially if the raids have brought rich spoils, but often too they must force their recognition as before. If this succeeds, they may now also carry the red emblem and are henceforth regarded as true warriors. They continue to build the kraal that was started and live beside the other warriors, but go to war with them. Usually, however, this situation does not last long; rather, the old warriors soon quit the service and marry. It is therefore an exception if there are two warrior kraals in one region at the same time.

578 [591] [721] 701 561 [531] [714]

701 /104 cont./
182 a little while, will then lead them farther. Otherwise they leave it
222 the rest.
[825] When the warriors of an ol boror notice that their bones are
701 getting old and the el barnot surpass them in strength, they agree
561 that it is now time to think of marriage. After they have obtained
582 the permission of the speaker and then that of the chief, one after the other leaves the warrior association, each one shortly before his
701 wedding. He announces his retirement by means of a feast, the ol
561 geteñ l ol bāā, that is, ox slaughtering with a tournament. To this
574 all the inhabitants of the nearest kraals are invited and are shown hospitality with the meat of one or several head of cattle. As soon as these are killed, each warrior cuts off a piece of meat for himself and devours it behind a bush standing somewhat apart. Then each of those present receives his share, while the remainder is strung on sticks two meters high. For these the warriors fight with the girls and women in a game in which the latter vigorously swing the sticks, before which the former has more fear than the women, somewhat
[526] accustomed to beatings. Then the younger ones amuse themselves and play, for instance, tag (tosudja). Before there is thought of de-
[539] parture, about five o'clock in the afternoon, a married man and his principal wife go to the host and make the following speech: "adjogi megur' ira ol morâni dada it' ol móruo, iñora ñ gischu inonu, ñ gera inonu, iñora naleñ, tabala 'mbaa el móran, ida tada ol móruo, tabala n dogitin bägin el móran, ida tada ol móruo"; in translation: I say, you are no longer Ol morâni, but Ol móruo, take care of your cattle and your goats and sheep and watch over them well, leave the occupation of the warriors, now you are ol móruo, refrain from all things of the warriors, now you are ol móruo.

701 After this feast it is up to the warrior whether he takes part more
561 or less regularly in the expeditions of war. As a rule he soon marries
[582] and lives with his wife either in the father's kraal or in the warrior kraal until all his contemporaries are married. Only then are they
[591] considered ol móruo: each one builds his own kraal and removes
[145] clothing, ornaments, and braid of the warriors. He is now at the end of the twenties, his best strength has been spent. In general the Masai, just like all members of the black race, spend their lives very quickly, they age early, without ever attaining a really advanced age.

177 previously. There is a considerable amount of raiding
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224 to steal stock from surrounding tribes. This precipitated
561 several minor wars when we were there, and administrative
701
721 action prevented one major war with thousands of combatants. Some lions are still killed, and the morani have been blooding their spears on a variety of other animals, most notably rhinos.

561 Following the period of service as warriors, each age class goes through another ceremony. Two age classes, a right hand and left hand together, take the ceremony and they then receive another age grade name which they retain the rest of their lives. Thus these elder age grades each span a period of about 15 years (Grant, 1957).

177 Periodically the administration has tried
178
561 to discourage the moran system. In late years some of the elders have also tried to change the system in order to maintain better control over the young men. The system still continues in Western Masailand but it is much less regular than previously.

561 When a warrior becomes circumcised he may
593 take his mother with him to the warrior' manyatta, or he
591 may leave her home or apparently even stay home himself.

561 He may marry when he is a senior warrior. When he becomes
593 an elder he may take his mother (if he wants) and her
• 591 share of the family cattle (for each wife has a given
[582] share of cattle) and move off to join others in a village
[422] (Fosbrooke, 1948).
[562]

561 The unmarried girls of the tribe live in the
836 warrior's manyattas and normally each moran has one
[583] favorite girl who becomes his concubine. They told us
that usually that girl became the warrior's first wife.

621 (c) Villages: Villages consist of a group of families, often about five but sometimes more or less. The villages are commonly called bomas or
361 (improperly) manyattas. Each boma consists of an outer
*233 circular thorn fence with a series of gates, one for
(417) each Masai elder. Within the gates there are a series of huts. Often around the huts are small thorn fences in which young livestock are kept. The cattle of the village are normally herded into the space in the center of the boma each night for protection from two and four legged predators, and in the morning they are taken back out to graze.

595 When a Masai marries, his first wife builds on the right of his gate, his second on the left,